

ADDRESSES - 1862

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ADDRESSES

1861-1863

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Late Addresses of Abraham Lincoln, 1861-1865

Addresses

1862

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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Lincoln's reply to resolutions of the
Baltimore Methodist conference of 1862: *March*

These kind words of approval coming
from so numerous a body of intelligent
Christian people, and so far from all sus-
picion of sinister motives, are indeed en-
couraging to me. By the help of an all-
wise Providence, I shall endeavor to do
my duty, and I shall expect the con-
tinuance of your prayers for a right

solution of our national difficulties, and
the restoration of our country to peace
and prosperity.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONFISCATION BILL. Washington, 15th. The confiscation bill has not yet been returned to Congress with the President's approval. It is generally thought that his request for a prolongation of the session has reference to that measure. There is some hesitancy in signing the act. A report was circulating today that the President was preparing a veto message, while another rumor among politicians is that he will suggest a modification of the bill. In either case there is no doubt, judging from the large majorities by which it passed—two-thirds in the Senate and nearly so in the House—that Congress will not adjourn without securing a measure of that character.

B Transcript

May 16 1862

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT CONCERNING THE CONFISCATION BILL.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Considering the bill for an act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels and for other purposes, and the joint resolution explanatory of said act as being substantially one, I have approved and signed both.

Before I was informed of the passage of the resolution, I had prepared the draft of a message stating objections to the bill becoming a law, a copy of which draft is herewith transmitted.

(Signed)

July 17, 1862.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Fellow Citizens of the House of Representatives: I herewith return to your honorable body, in which it originated, the bill for an act entitled an act to suppress treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes, together with my objections to its becoming a law.

There is much in the bill to which I perceive no objection. It is wholly prospective, and it touches neither the person or property of any loyal citizen—in which particular it is just and proper.

The first and second sections provide for the conviction and punishment of persons who shall be guilty of treason, and the persons who shall be guilty, set on foot, assist or engage in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States, or the laws thereof; or shall give aid or comfort to any such existing rebellion or insurrection.

By fair construction the persons within these sections are not to be punished without regular trials in duly constituted courts under the forms and all the substantial provisions of law and of the Constitution applicable to their several cases. To this I perceive no objection, especially as such persons would be within the general pardoning power, and also within the special provision for pardon and amnesty contained in this act. It also provides that the slaves of persons confiscated under these sections shall be free. I think there is an unfortunate form of expression rather than a substantial objection in this. It is starting to say that Congress can free a slave within a State, and yet were it said that the ownership of a slave had first been transferred to the nation, and that Congress had then liberated him, the difficulty would vanish, and this is the real case. The inferior against the General Government forfeits his slave at least as justly as he does any other property, and he forfeits both to the Government against which he offends.

The Government, so far as there can be ownership, owns the forfeited slaves, and the question for Congress in regard to them is, shall they be made free, or sold to new masters? I see no objection to Congress deciding in advance that they shall be free. To the high honor of Kentucky, as I am informed, she has been the owner of some slaves by escheat, and has sold none, but liberated all. I hope the same is true of some other States. Indeed, I do not believe it would be physically possible for the General Government to return persons so circumstanced to actual slavery. I believe there would be physical resistance to it, which would never be turned aside by argument, nor driven away by force. In this view of it I have no objection to this feature of the bill.

Another matter valued in these two sections and running through other parts of the act will be noticed hereafter.

I perceive no objection to the 3d and 4th sections. So far as I wish to notice the 5th and 6th sections, they may be considered together. That the enforcement of these sections would do no injustice to the persons embraced within them is clear. Those who make a causeless war should be compelled to pay the cost of it, is too obviously just to be called in question. To give Government protection to the property of persons who have abandoned it, and gone on a crusade to overthrow that same Government, is absurd, if considered in the mere light of justice. The severest justice may not always be the best policy. The principle of seizing and appropriating the property of the persons embraced within these sections is certainly not very objectionable, but a justly discriminating application of it would be very difficult, and to a great extent impossible, and would it not be wise to place a power of remission somewhere, so that these persons may know that they have something to save by desisting.

I am not sure whether such power of remission is or is not within section 13 without a special act

of Congress. I think our military commanders, when, in military phrase, they are within the enemy's country, should in an orderly manner seize and keep whatever of real or personal property may be necessary or convenient for their commands, and at the same time preserve in some way the evidence of what they do.

What I have said in regard to slaves while commenting on the first and second sections, is applicable to the 9th, with the difference that no provision is made in the whole act for determining whether a particular individual slave does or does not fall within the class defined within that section. He is to be free upon certain conditions, but whether these conditions do or do not pertain to him, no mode of ascertaining is provided. This could be easily supplied.

To the 10th section I make no objection. The oath therein required seems to be proper, and the remainder of the section is substantially identical with a law, already existing.

The 11th section simply assumes to confer discretionary powers upon the Executive without the law. I have no hesitation to go as far in the direction indicated as I may at any time deem expedient, and I am ready to say now I think it is proper for our military commanders to employ as laborers as many persons of African descent as can be used to advantage.

The 12th and 13th sections are something better—they are unobjectionable—and the 11th is entirely proper if all other parts of the act shall stand.

That to which I chiefly object pervades most parts of the act, but more distinctly appears in the 1st, 2d, 7th and 8th sections. It is the sum of these provisions which results in the divesting of title forever. For the causes of treason—the mere ingredients of treason, but amounting to the full crime—it declares forfeiture extending beyond the lives of the guilty parties, whereas the Constitution of the United States declares that no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attained. True, there is to be no formal attainder in this case, still I think the greater punishment cannot be constitutionally inflicted in a different form for the same offence. With great respect, I am constrained to say I think this feature of the act is unconstitutional. It would not be difficult to mount it.

I may remark that the provision of the Constitution, put in language borrowed from Great Britain, applies only in this country, as I understand, to real estate.

Again, this act, by proceedings *in rem*, forfeits property for the ingredients of treason without a conviction of the supposed criminal, or a personal hearing given him in *rem* proceeding. That we may not touch property lying within our reach because we cannot give personal notice to an owner who is absent endeavoring to destroy the Government, is certainly not very satisfactory. Still the owner may not be thus engaged, and I think a reasonable trial should be provided for such parties to appear and have personal hearings. Similar provisions are not uncommon in connection with proceedings *in rem*.

For the reasons stated I return the bill to the House, in which it originated.

EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 31, 1862.

SECOND EDITION.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S APPEAL TO THE BORDER STATES. The beautiful and persuasive address of President Lincoln, to the Border State Senators and Representatives, wherein he adjures them to take measures for the gradual emancipation of the slaves within the Commonwealths they represent, will meet with almost unanimous approval in the free States. It is unmistakably the work of the President, breathing all his pure patriotism, tender regard for the welfare of the country, and solicitude that every means should be employed to close the war. The document is one of the greatest importance, and exhibits, in its author, philanthropy of the most benignant character, and statesmanship of a highly comprehensive stamp. It will increase the popular trust and confidence in the acknowledged ability of the President, to successfully treat whatever questions may arise, during the present struggle to crush a rebellion, the main-spring of which is slavery.

The response of the majority of the Border State men, although some of the President's propositions are disputed, indicates the immense progress which has been made since the war begun. In conclusion, these Border State conservatives say, that "if Congress, by proper and necessary legislation, shall provide sufficient funds and place them at your disposal, to be applied by you to the payment of any of our States or the citizens thereof who shall adopt the abolition of slavery, either gradual or immediate, as they may determine, and the expense of deportation and colonization of the liberated slaves, then will our States and people take this proposition into careful consideration, for such decision as in their judgment is demanded by their interests, their honor, and their duty to the whole country."

The minority rebuke all "fault-finding or querulousness over the things that are past," and unhesitatingly commit themselves to the eradication of slavery, if necessary to the salvation of the Union. The Hon. Horace Maynard of Tennessee takes the ground that "he who is not ready to yield all his material interests and to forego his most cherished sentiments and opinions for the preservation of his country, although he may have perilled his life on the battle field in her defense, is but half a patriot." This entire correspondence is one of the most significant signs of the times. Liberal men in Europe will be especially interested in its perusal.

Such is the effect of the President's action with regard to the Border States. No one can doubt, that the President has displayed singular ability in managing the difficult question of slavery in these States. The Border Commonwealths have a certain guaranty, in his past dealings with them, that forcible measures of emancipation will not be adopted, unless necessary to the very safety of the nation.

THE PRESIDENT'S APPEAL TO THE BORDER STATES.

The Representatives and Senators of the Border Slaveholding States having, by special invitation of the President, been convened at the Executive Mansion on Saturday, 12th inst., Mr. Lincoln addressed them as follows from a written paper held in his hands:

Gentlemen: After the adjournment of Congress, now near, I shall have no opportunity of seeing you for several months. Believing that you of the Border States hold more power for good than any other equal number of members, I feel it a duty which I cannot justifiably waive to make this appeal to you.

I intend no reproach or complaint when I assure you that, in my opinion, if you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended. And the plan therein proposed is yet one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. Let the States which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly that in no event will the States you represent ever join their proposed Confederacy, and they cannot much longer maintain the contest. But you cannot divest them of their hope to ultimately have you with them so long as you show a determination to perpetuate the institution within your own States. Beat them at elections, as you have overwhelmingly done, and, nothing daunted, they still claim you as their own. You and I know what the lever of their power is. Break that lever before their faces, and they can shake you no more forever.

Most of you have treated me with kindness and consideration, and I trust you will not now think I improperly touch what is exclusively your own, when, for the sake of the whole country, I ask, Can you, for your States, do better than to take the course I urge? Discarding *punctilio* and maxima adapted to more manageable times, and looking only to the unprecedentedly stern facts of our case, can you do better in any possible event? You prefer that the Constitutional relation of the States to the nation shall be practically restored without disturbance of the institution; and, if this were done, my whole duty, in this respect, under the Constitution and my oath of office, would be performed. But it is not done, and we are trying to accomplish it by war.

The incidents of the war cannot be avoided. If the war continues long, as it must, if the object be not sooner attained, the institution in your States will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion—by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. How much better for you and for your people to take the step which at once shortens the war, and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event! How much better to thus save the money which else we sink forever in the war! How much better to do it while we can, lest the war ere long render us pecuniarily unable to do it. How much better for you, as seller, and the nation, as buyer, to sell out that without which the war could never have been, than to sink both the thing to be sold and the price of it in cutting one another's throats!

I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply, and in abundance, and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go.

I am pressed with a difficulty not yet mentioned—one which threatens division among those who, united, are none too strong. An instance of it is known to you. Gen. Hunter is an honest man. He was, and I hope still is, my friend. I valued him none the less for his agreeing with me in the general wish that all men everywhere could be freed. He proclaimed all men free within certain States, and I repudiated the proclamation. He expected more good and less harm from the measure than I could believe would follow. Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offence, to many whose support the country cannot afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask you can relieve me, and much more, can relieve the country in this important point.

Upon these considerations, I have again begged your attention to the message of March last. Before leaving the Capitol, consider and discuss it among yourselves. You are patriots and statesmen, and as such I pray you consider this proposition; and at the least commend it to the consideration of your States and people. As you

would perpetuate popular government for the best people in the world, I beseech you that you do in no wise omit this. Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action to bring a speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of government is saved to the world; its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated, and its happy future fully assured and rendered inconceivably grand. To you, more than to any others, the privilege is given to assure that happiness and swell that grandeur, and to link your own names therewith forever.

At the conclusion of these remarks some conversation was had between the President and several members of the delegations from the Border States, in which it was represented that these States could not be expected to move in so great a matter as that brought to their notice in the foregoing address, while as yet the Congress had taken no step beyond the passage of a resolution, expressive rather of a sentiment than presenting a substantial and reliable basis of action.

The President acknowledged the force of this view, and admitted that the Border States were entitled to expect a substantial pledge of pecuniary aid as the condition of taking into consideration a proposition so important in its relations to their social system.

It was further represented, in the Conference, that the people of the Border States were interested in knowing the great importance which the President attached to the policy in question, while it was equally due to the country, to the President, and to themselves that the Representatives of the Border Slaveholding States should publicly announce the motives under which they were called to act and the considerations of public policy urged upon them and their constituents by the President.

With a view to such a statement of their position, the members thns addressed met in council to deliberate on the reply they should make to the President, and, as the result of a comparison of opinions among themselves, they determined upon the adoption of a majority and a minority answer.

The majority of the Border State Congressmen, in their reply, say they cannot see how "the war would be substantially ended" had they voted for the emancipation resolution. They do not regard slavery as the lever of the rebel power, but in their opinion the real lever is "the apprehension that the powers of a common government, created for common and equal protection to the interests of all, will be wielded against the institutions of the Southern States." They say there are two classes in the rebellion, whom they describe as follows:

"They are in arms, but not for the same objects; they are moved to a common end, but by different and even inconsistent reasons. The leaders, who comprehend what was previously known as the State Rights party, and are much the lesser class, seek to break down national independence and set up State domination. With them it is a war against nationality. The other class is fighting, as it supposes, to preserve and maintain its rights of property and domestic safety, which it has been made to believe are assailed by this Government. This latter class are not disunionists *per se*; they are so only because they have been made to believe that this Administration is inimical to their rights, and is making war on their domestic institutions. As long as these two classes act together they will never ascent to a peace."

As a remedy for this state of things, and a recall of the second and largest class of traitors to their allegiance, the following policy is recommended:

"Remove their apprehensions; satisfy them that no harm is intended to them and their institutions; that this Government is not making war on their rights of property, but is simply defending its legitimate authority, and they will gladly return to their allegiance as soon as the pressure of military dominion imposed by the Confederate authority is removed from them."

In regard to Gen. Hunter's proclamation, they say:

"We will not allow ourselves to think that the proposition is, that we consent to give up slavery, to the end that the Hunter proclamation may be let loose on the Southern people, for it is too well known that we would not be parties to any such measure, and we have too much respect for you to imagine that you would propose it. Can it mean that by sacrificing our interest in slavery we appease the spirit that controls that pressure, cause it to be withdrawn, and rid the country of the pestilent agitation of the slavery question?"

We are forbidden so to think, for that spirit would not be satisfied with the liberation of 700,000 slaves, and cease its agitation while 3,000,000 remain in bondage. Can it mean that by abandoning slavery in our States we are removing the pressure from you and the country, by preparing for a separation on the line of the Cotton States? We are forbidden so to think, because it is known that we are, and we believe that you are, unalterably opposed to any division at all. We would prefer to think that you desire this concession a pledge of our support, and thus enable you to withstand a pressure which weighs heavily on you and the country."

But while the Border State men are averse to the President's policy, they concede to him honesty of purpose, and claim for themselves unwavering loyalty.

The minority respond in a very encouraging manner. They say:

But, on the other hand, we meet your address in the spirit in which it was made, and, as loyal Americans, declare to you and to the world that there is no sacrifice that we are not ready to make to save the Government and institutions of our fathers. That we, few of us though there may be, will permit no men, from the North or from the South, to go farther than we in the accomplishment of the great work before us. That in order to carry out these views, we will, so far as may be in our power, ask the people of the Border States, calmly, deliberately and fairly, to consider your recommendations. We are the more emboldened to assume this position from the fact, now become history, that the leaders of the Southern rebellion have offered to abolish slavery amongst them as a condition to foreign intervention in favor of their independence as a nation.

If they can give up slavery to destroy the Union, we can surely ask our people to consider the question of emancipation to save the Union.

Mr. Maynard, of Tennessee makes a distinct reply of his own. After remarking that his State is yet enthralled, and that consequently he cannot submit the President's plan to his people, he says—

I did not vote for the resolution to which you allude, solely for the reason that at the time I was absent at the capital of my own State. It is right. Should any of the slave States think proper to terminate that institution, as several of them, I understand, or at least some of their citizens propose, justice and a generous comity require that the country should interpose to aid it in lessening the burden, public and private, occasioned by so radical a change in its social and industrial relations. Your whole Administration gives the highest assurance that you are moved, not so much from a desire to see all men everywhere made free, as from a far higher desire to preserve free institutions for the benefit of men already free; not to make slaves freemen, but to prevent freemen from being made slaves; not to destroy an institution, which a portion of us only consider bad, but to save institutions which we all alike consider good.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Immense War Meeting in Front of the Capitol.

PATRIOTIC RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

SPEECH BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

IMPORTANT EXPLANATIONS CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

Aug. 1861

Washington, 6th. The immense meeting at the east front of the Capitol this afternoon, was preceded by the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and music from the Marine Band. The portico and platform were occupied by many ladies, and military, civil and naval officers of distinction. The Mayor of Washington presided, with 34 Vice Presidents, and 22 Secretaries. After a prayer by Rev. John C. Smith, the following resolutions were read by Edward Jordan, the Solicitor of the Treasury:

Resolved, That we, residents of the District of Columbia, but having among our number citizens of every portion of the country, regard the dismemberment of the Union as an event not to be contemplated in any contingency whatever, it being forbidden alike by our geographical, commercial, social and political condition, by our domestic and foreign interests, by the shame which the world would attach to us did we suffer its accomplishment, and the worthlessness of what would remain to us afterward; by the mighty interests involved in the Union and the vast sacrifices which have been made in its defense; by the hopes of the living and the memories of the dead; and we deliberately and solemnly declare that rather than witness its overthrow, we would prosecute the present war until the towns and cities should be reduced to ashes (applause), our fields should be desolated, and we and all that are dear to us should have perished with our possessions. Let the Union be preserved or the country made a desert. (Applause.)

Resolved, That we have not a doubt that almost the entire population of the loyal States are animated by the same sentiments which we express, and that if there is at the present time any hesitation manifested by them in devoting themselves and all their property to the cause of their country, it is owing solely to their misgivings as to the prosecution of the war (applause and cries of "Good"), to an apprehension that there is on the part of those who direct our military operations, whether in the Cabinet or in the field, want of readiness and determination to employ the full power of the nation, which all feel to be overwhelming.

Resolved, That, profoundly convinced as we are that such is the true cause of the hesitation, we deem it the duty of the President, and we therefore most respectfully but earnestly urge upon him, to adopt effectual means of assuring the people that he is resolved to prosecute the war on a scale of time limited only by the resources of the country; and we hail with joy the recent order directing the immediate draft of a large additional force as cheering evidence of such a resolve. (Applause.)

Resolved, That while there are among us differences of opinion upon minor questions of policy in the prosecution of the war, we are all agreed that the measures adopted should be those which will bear with the most crushing weight upon those in rebellion, whether in arms or not.

Resolved, That convinced as we are that the leaders in the rebellion will never sincerely return to their allegiance to the Union or quietly submit to its laws, we are of opinion that they should be regarded and treated as irreclaimable traitors, who are to be stripped of their possessions, of whatever character, and either deprived of life or expelled from the country. (Wild applause and cries of "Good.")

Resolved, That, in our judgment, whenever our armies go within the rebellious States, means should be taken to test the loyalty of the inhabitants, and those who refuse their unqualified adhesion to the cause of the Union should either be placed under restraint or compelled to go beyond the lines, while their effects should be taken from them, and, so far as available, be converted to the use of the army. (Applause.)

Resolved, That the national capital is eminently the place where treason should be instantly denounced and punished.

At this point the applause from the thousands of voices was deafening, and again three cheers were enthusiastically given, with exclamations, "Read that again!" "Good!" "Good!" "Read it again!"

Mr. Jordan was about to do so, when he was interrupted by the heavy and continuous sound of cannon, mingled with the music from the Marine Band, for the President had now made his appearance and was proceeding to the front of the platform, where a chair had been provided for him in a conspicuous place. Three cheers were given in his honor, and when this pleasant excitement had somewhat subsided, Mr. Jordan read the entire resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the national capital is eminently the place where treason should be instantly denounced and punished, and that the most stringent measures should be adopted by the proper authorities without delay to discover the disloyal men and women who infest this District, and that they should be compelled either to establish in the most conclusive manner their fidelity to the Government or forfeit its protection. [The reading throughout was greeted with applause.]

Resolved, That we heartily approve of the act of Congress, passed at the recent session, subjecting to confiscation the property of rebels, and declaring free such of their slaves as shall take refuge within the lines of our army; and that we

deem it to be the duty of the President, to the utmost of his ability, to give prompt effect to the provisions of that act, and especially that he take the most efficient means in his power to cause due notice thereof to be given to all persons who may be affected thereby. (Applause.)

Resolved, That the Federal Government, being the only instrumental through which the will of the nation can be made effective, that government must be sustained, whatever administration may for the time being be in power, and whatever may be the policy within the limits of the Constitution which it may adopt; that he who refuses to it his support because of his disapproval of some particular measure of its policy is false to his obligations to the country, (applause); that this truth has peculiar force at the present time, when the government is struggling for its very existence, and that for ourselves, confident as we are in the wisdom and patriotism of the President and members of the Cabinet, we pledge to them our earnest, cordial and determined support in the great work of defending and preserving the Union, in which centre all our hopes, and to the preservation of which we solemnly devote all that we have and are. (Applause.)

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to make ample pecuniary provisions for the families of all citizens of this District who are now in the military service of the country, or who may hereafter enter it during the continuance of this war.

The entire series of resolutions was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted.

Mr. Crittenden, Register of the Treasury, made a stirring opening speech. His remarks were patriotic and pointed, and his allusions to the efforts to eject traitors from the Departments and from the city of Washington were heartily endorsed by the multitude.

Mr. Lincoln, President of the United States, in obedience to loud calls, addressed the people as follows:

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Fellow Citizens: I believe there is no precedent for my appearing before you on this occasion, (applause,) but it is also true there is no precedent for your being here yourselves, (applause and laughter;) and I offer in justification of myself and of you, that upon examination I have found nothing in the Constitution against it. (Renewed applause.) I have, however, the impression that there are younger gentlemen who will entertain you better. (Voices—"No, no—none can do better than yourself"—"Go on,") and better address your understanding than I will or could.

I propose but to detain you a moment longer. (Cries, "Go on—tar and feather the rebels.") I am very little inclined on any occasion to say anything unless I hope to produce some good by it. (A voice, "You do that—go on.") The only thing I think of just now not likely to be better said by some one else, is a matter in which we have heard some other persons blamed for what I did myself. (Voices—"What is it?")

There has been a very wide-spread attempt to have a quarrel between Gen. McClellan and the Secretary of War. Now I occupy a position that enables me to believe at least these two gentlemen are not nearly so deep in the quarrel as some presume to be their friends. (Cries of "Good!")

Gen. McClellan's attitude is such that in the very selfishness of his nature he cannot but wish to be successful, and I hope he will be; and the Secretary of War is precisely in the same situation. If the military commanders in the field cannot be successful, not only the Secretary of War but myself, for the time being the master of them both, cannot but fail. (Laughter and applause.)

I now Gen. McClellan wishes to be successful, and I know he does not wish it any more than the Secretary of War for him, and both of them

together no more than I wish it. (Applause and cries of "Good.") Sometimes we have had a despatch about how many men Gen. McClellan has had, and those who would disparage him say he had a very large number, and those who would disparage the Secretary of War insist that Gen. McClellan had a very small number.

The basis for this is, there is always a wide difference—and on this occasion, perhaps a wider one—between the grand total of General McClellan's rolls and the men actually fit for duty, and those who would disparage him talk of the grand total on paper, and those who would disparage the Secretary of War talk of those at present fit for duty. General McClellan has sometimes asked for things that the Secretary of War did not give him.

Gen. McClellan is not to blame for asking for what he wanted and needed, and the Secretary of War is not to blame for not giving when he had none to give (applause and laughter, and cries of "Good, good"); and I say here, so far as I know the Secretary of War has withheld no one thing at any time in my power to give him. (Wild applause, and a voice, "Give him enough now.")

I believe he is a brave and able man (applause), and I stand here, as justice requires me to do, to take upon myself what has been charged upon the Secretary of War, as withholding from him. I have talked longer than I expected to—(cries of "No! no! go on")—and now I avail myself of my privilege of saying no more.

Ex-Governor Boutwell, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, when he announced that he came from Massachusetts, said that what they propose to do in this war was to carry it on in sunshine and storm against all odds on this side of the water or the other. They rallied under this banner not for this generation alone, nor for this century, but for all generations on this side of the Atlantic until our flag shall wave unpolluted from the great lakes of the North to the Gulf of Mexico, and they meant to take the last man, the last dollar, the last hour's labor of the old Commonwealth, ere these men, with treachery on their lips and treason in their hearts, shall accomplish what they have undertaken. (Applause.) If tonight news of disaster should come, every heart, though dismayed for the moment, would be renewed for renewed efforts in the cause of liberty and humanity.

Mr. Crittenden, who preceded him, said he proposed to ferret out the traitors. He would here say that if it had not been for slavery there would have been no treason, and when slavery shall cease to exist there will be no more traitors. (Applause and cries of "Good!") Governor Boutwell continued at some length, closing by saying: "If the people declare with courage that slavery shall cease, let this be the war cry."

Mr. Boutwell was followed by Hon. L. Swett of Illinois, Gen. Shepley, Gen. Shields, Hon. Robert J. Walker, Hon. R. W. Thompson, Senator Harlan and others.

The meeting was most enthusiastic, and one of the largest ever held in this city.

Benton Transcripts Aug 18

PRESIDENT LINCOLN ON AFRICAN COLONIZATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA. Washington, 1st. This afternoon the President of the United States gave audience to a committee of colored men at the White House. They were introduced by Rev. J. Mitchell, Commissioner of Emigration. E. M. Thomas, the chairman, remarked that they were there by invitation to hear what the Executive had to say to them. Having all been seated, the President, after a few preliminary observations, informed them that a sum of money had been appropriated by Congress and placed at his disposal for the purpose of aiding the colonization in some country of the people, or a portion of them of African descent, thereby making it his duty, as it had for a long time been his inclination, to favor the cause; and why, he asked, should the people of your race be colonized, and where? Why should they leave this country? This is perhaps the first question for proper consideration.

You and we are a different race. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffer very greatly, many of them by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word we suffer on each side. If this is admitted it affords a reason at least why we should be separated. You here are freemen, I suppose? (A voice: "yes, sir") Perhaps you have long been free, or all your lives. Your race are suffering, in my opinion, the greatest wrong inflicted on any people, but even when you cease to be slaves you are far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race. You are cut off from many of the advantages which the other race enjoy.

The aspiration of men is to enjoy equality with the best men when free; but on this broad continent not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. Go where you are treated the best, and the hand is still upon you. I do not propose to discuss this, but to present it as a fact with which we have to deal. I cannot alter it if I would. It is a fact about which we all think and feel alike—I and you. We look to our condition, owing to the existence of the two races on this continent, I need not recount to you the effects upon white men growing out of the institution of slavery. I believe in its general evil effects on the white race. See our present condition; the country engaged in war; our white men cutting one another's throats; none knowing how far it will extend. And then consider what we know to be the truth. But for your race among us, there could not be a war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without the institution of slavery and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have an existence. It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated.

I know that there are free men among you who, even if they could better their condition, are not so much inclined to go out of the country as those who, being slaves, could obtain their freedom on this condition. I suppose one of the principal difficulties in the way of colonization is that the free colored man cannot see that his effort would be advanced by it. You may believe you can live in Washington or elsewhere in the United States the remainder of your life, perhaps better than you can in any foreign country; hence you may come to the conclusion that you have nothing to do with the idea of going to a foreign country. This is (I speak in no unkind sense) an extremely selfish view of the case, but you ought to do something to help those who are not so fortunate as yourselves.

There is an unwillingness on the part of your people, harsh as it may be for you free colored people, to remain with us. Now if you could give a start to the white people you would open a wide door for many to be made free. We deal with those who are not free at the beginning and whose intellects are clouded by slavery. We have very poor material to start with. If intelligent colored people, such as are before me, would move in this matter, much might be accomplished. It is exceedingly important that we have men at the beginning capable of thinking as white men, and not those who have been systematically oppressed. There is much to encourage you. For the sake of your race you should sacrifice something of your present comfort for the purpose of being as grand in that respect as the white people.

It is a cheering thought throughout life that something can be done to ameliorate the condition of those who have been subject to the hard usages of the world. It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels he is worthy of himself and claims kindred to the great God who made him. In the American revolutionary war sacrifices were made by men engaged in it, but they were cheered by the future. Gen. Wash-

ton himself endured greater physical hardship than if he had remained a British subject; yet he was a happy man because he was engaged in benefiting his race—something for the children of his neighbors, having none of his own.

The colony of Liberia has been in existence a long time. In a certain sense it is a success. The old President of Liberia, Roberts, has just been with me—the first time I ever saw him. He says they have within the bounds of that colony between 300,000 and 400,000 people, or more than in some of our old States, such as Rhode Island and Delaware, and in some of our newer States, and less than in some of our larger ones. They are not all American colonists or their descendants. Something less than 12,000 have been sent thither from this country. Many of the original settlers have died, yet like people elsewhere, their offspring outnumbers those deceased. The question is if the colored people are persuaded to go anywhere, why not there? One reason for an unwillingness to do so is that some of you would rather remain within reach of the country of your nativity. I do not know how much attachment you may have toward our race. It does not strike me that you have the greatest reason to love them, but still you are attached to them at all events.

The place I am thinking about having for a colony is Central America. It is nearer us than Liberia—not much more than one fourth as far as Liberia—and within seven days' run by steamers. Unlike Liberia, it is on a great line of travel—it is a highway. The country is a very excellent one for any people, and with great natural resources and advantages, and especially because of the similarity of climate with your native land, is better suited to your physical condition. The particular place I have in view is to be a great highway from the Atlantic or Caribbean sea to the Pacific ocean. And this particular place has all the advantages for a colony. On both sides there are harbors among the first in the world.

Again, there is evidence of very rich coal mines. A certain amount of coal is valuable in any country, and there may be more than enough for the wants of the country. Why I attach so much importance to coal is, it will afford an opportunity to the inhabitants for immediate employment until they get ready to settle permanently in their homes. If you take colonists where there is no good landing there is a bad show, and to where there is nothing to cultivate, and of which to make a farm; but if something is started so that you can get your daily bread as soon as you reach there, it is a great advantage. Coal land is the best thing I know of with which to commence an enterprise.

To return. You have been talked to upon this subject and told that a speculation is intended by gentlemen who have an interest in the country, including the coal mines. We have been mistaken all our lives if we do not know that whites as well as blacks look to their self-interest, unless among those deficient in intellect. Everybody you trade with makes something. You meet with these things here and elsewhere. If such persons have what will be an advantage to them, the question is whether it cannot be made of advantage to you. You are intelligent and know that success does not as much depend on external help as on self-reliance. Much, therefore, depends upon yourselves. As to the coal mines I think I see the means available for your self-reliance. I shall, if I get sufficient number of you engaged, have provisions made that you shall not be wronged.

If you will engage in the enterprise I will spend some of the money entrusted to me. I am not sure you will succeed. The Government may lose the money, but we can't succeed unless we try; but we think with care we can succeed. The political affairs in Central America are not in quite as satisfactory condition as I wish. There are contending factions in that quarter, but all the factions agree alike on the subject of colonization, and want it, and are more generous than we are here. To your colored race they have no objection. Beside, I would endeavor to have you made equals, and have the best assurance that you should be the equals of the best.

The practical thing I want to ascertain is whether I can get a number of able-bodied men, with their wives and children, who are willing to go when I present evidence of encouragement

and protection. Could I get a number of tolerably intelligent men, with their wives and children, to quit their own fodder, so to speak? Can I have fifty? If I could find twenty-five able-bodied men, with a mixture of women and children—good things in the family relation—I think I could make a respectable commencement. I want you to let me know whether this can be done or not. This is the practical part of my wish to see you.

These are subjects of very great importance, worthy of a month's study of a speech delivered in an hour. I ask you then to consider seriously, not pertaining to yourselves merely nor your race and ours for the present time, but as one of the things, if successfully managed, for the good of mankind not confined to the present generation, but as—

From age to age descends the lay
To millions yet to be,
Till far its echoes roll away
Into eternity.

The chairman of the delegation briefly replied that they would hold a consultation, and in a short time give an answer.

The President said, "Take your full time—no hurry at all." The delegation then withdrew.

ADDRESSES OF THE LOYAL STATE GOVERNORS TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Washington, Oct. 2. The following is the Address to the President of the United States, adopted at a meeting of the Governors of the loyal States, held to take measures for the more active support of the Government, at Altoona, Penn., on the 26th day of September, 1861:

After nearly one year and a half spent in a contest with an armed and gigantic rebellion against the National Government of the United States, the duty and purpose of the loyal States and people continue and must always remain as they were at the first, viz: to restore and perpetuate the supremacy of this Government and the life of the nation.

No matter what consequences are involved in our fidelity, nevertheless this work of restoring the Republic, preserving the institutions of democratic liberty, and justifying the rights and trials of our fathers, shall not fail to be performed, and we pledge, without hesitation, to the President of the United States the most loyal and cordial support hereafter as heretofore, in the functions of his great office.

We recognize in him the Chief Executive Magistrate of the nation, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, of the United States, their importance and constitutional right, whose rightful authority and power, as well as the constitutional powers of Congress, must be vigorously and religiously guarded and preserved as the condition on which alone our form of government and the constitutional rights and liberties of the people themselves can be saved from the wreck of anarchy or from the gulf of despotism.

In submission to the laws which may have been, or may be, only enacted, and to the lawful orders of the President, co-operating always in our own spheres to the National Government we mean to contribute in the most vigorous exercise of all our lawful and proper powers, contending against treason, rebellion and the public enemies, and whether in public life or private station, supporting the stars of the Union until its cause shall conquer, until final victory shall perch upon its standard, or the rebel foe shall yield a dutiful, righteous, and unconditional submission, and impressed in the conviction that an army of reserves ought, until the war shall end, to be constantly kept on foot, to be raised, armed and equipped at home, and ready for emergencies, we respectfully ask the President to call for such a force of volunteers for one year's service of not less than 100,000 in the aggregate, the quota of each State to be raised after it shall have raised its quotas of the requisitions already made for volunteers and for militia. We believe that this would be a measure of military prudence, while it would greatly promote the military education of the people.

We hail with heartfelt gratitudo and encouraged hope the proclamation of the President, issued on the 22d inst., declaring emancipated from their bondage all persons held to service or labor as slaves in the rebel States, whose rebellion shall last until the first day of January ensuing. The right of any persons to retain authority to compel any portion of the subjects of the National Government to rebel against it or to maintain its enemies, implies in those who allowed the possession of such authority, the right to rebel themselves, and therefore the right to establish martial law or military government in a State or Territory implies the right and the duty of the Government to liberate the minds of all men living therein by appropriate proclamations and assurances of protection, in order that all who are capable, intellectually and morally, of loyalty and obedience, may not be forced into treason as the willing tools of the rebellious traitors.

To have continued indefinitely the most efficient cause, support and stay of the rebellion, would have been, in our judgment, unjust to the loyal people whose treasure and lives are made a willing sacrifice on the altar of patriotism; it would have discriminated against the wife who is compelled to surrender her husband, against the parent who is to surrender his child to the hardships of the camp and the perils of the battle, and in favor of the rebel masters who are permitted to retain their slaves; it would have been a final decision alike against humanity, justice, the rights and dignity of the Government, and against a sound and wise national policy.

The decision of the President to strike at the root of the rebellion will lend new vigor to the efforts and new life and hope to the hearts of the people.

Cordially tendering to the President respectful assurances of personal and official confidence, we trust and believe the policy now inaugurated will be covered with success, will give speedy and triumphant victories over our enemies, and secure to this nation and to this people the blessing and favor of Almighty God.

We believe that the blood of the heroes who have already fallen, and those who may yet give up their lives to their country, will not have been shed in vain. The splendid valor of our troops, their patient endurance, their manly patriotism and their devotion to every demand from us, and from all their countrymen, the homage of the sincerest gratitude and the pledge of our constant reinforcement and support. A just regard for these brave men, whom we have contributed to place in the field, and for the importance of the duties which may lawfully pertain to us hereafter, has called us into friendly conference.

And now presenting to our national Chief Magistrate the result of our deliberations, we devote ourselves to one country's service, and will surround the President in our constant support, trusting that the fidelity and zeal of the loyal States and people will always assure him that he will be constantly maintained in pursuing with vigor this war for the preservation of the national life and the hopes of humanity.

(Signed) A. G. Curtin, John A. Andrew, Edward Yates, Israel Washburn, Jr., Edward S. Bouton, Samuel J.柯特, O. P. Morton (by D. G. Rose, his representative), Wm. Sprague, F. H. Pierpont, David T. C., N. S. Berry, and Austin Blair.

EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

SECOND EDITION.

TUESDAY EVENING, DEC. 2, 1862.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE is a plain, compact, and vigorous State paper, full of clear statements and forcible arguments, and bearing in every sentence the unmistakable stamp of mental and moral integrity. It is an honest document throughout, and its sincerity is as marked as its sense and sagacity. Opinions thus recommended by character will of course exercise great influence on the public mind.

The two most important topics discussed are The Finances and Emancipation. The President urges his views on the latter subject with all the strength of genuine conviction, and his argument is characterized by more than his usual closeness and condensation. There is room for wide difference of opinion on the question of compensated emancipation, and many will think that the fair principle would be to give the slaveholders only that amount which remains after the cost of the war has been deducted from the market value of the slaves.

The colonization scheme of the President is open to one objection which seems to us conclusive. It implies a vast exportation of laborers, the very class of men we can least spare. To expatriate, at a great expense, any portion of the creators of wealth, is a suicidal policy.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Comments of the New York Press.

New York, 2d. The Herald says: The slavery question is the great topic of the message. Mr. Lincoln appears to have razed all other subjects to the smallest possible dimensions, in order to have "ample scope and verge enough for his elaborate argument in support of the new compromise which he proposes for the slavery question.

Mr. Lincoln's views upon this subject cannot fail to convince the reader that he is actuated by the most patriotic, humane, just, and generous considerations; but we fear that the abolition radicals of Congress will treat his proposition and his pleadings with indifference, if not with scorn and contempt.

The Tribune says: Mr. Lincoln's message discusses many topics of grave interest and embodies many important suggestions, but the interest therein canvassed overrides all others, and his expose will be hailed with hearty approval, or spurned with execration, as the reader substantially agrees with or dissents from his judgment on this point.

Essentially the President sees and proclaims that slavery has become the implacable foe of the American Union, and that the slave power must die in order that the Republic may live.

Heartily agreeing with him on the main question, we differ on subordinate points without reserve and without feeling. We know that he believes gradualism with negro exportation calculated to command emancipation to the South.

We believe, on the other hand, that our country has no laborers to export, and that the planters of the South cannot soon find laborers, so easily paid and so docile as those to whom they are accustomed would generally prove themselves if free.

But so long as the great end is kept steadily in view, we can waive all incidentals—gradualism, compensation, exportation—if these tubs amuse the whale, let him have them.

The Times says: What the President has to say of prospective emancipation, and of the colonization of the enfranchised slaves, will not command universal assent; and we deem it very doubtful whether Congress will enact the laws necessary to carry his recommendations into effect. But no one can doubt that the President has made them from the most patriotic motives, and with a sincere desire to contribute all in his power to the permanent settlement of the most important question of the age.

New York, 2d. The World's editorial draws a comparative analogy between the President's emancipation proclamation and his message.

It says: "The proclamation looks to sudden emancipation, while the message declares that sudden emancipation is on all accounts undesirable, and would be, especially in populous slave regions, a great evil to its immediate recipients.

The proclamation treats slavery as if it were an unmitigated crime; the message recognizes slaves as property, frankly admits the validity of the argument excusing the present generation of slaveholders from the guilt of its existence, and declares that the North, which consumes and trades in slave productions, is nearly as much responsible for its continuance as the South."

The proclamation contemplates a sweeping system of uniform emancipation. The message proposes to leave the fact, time, mode and concomitants of emancipation to the discretion of each State. The proclamation implies no doubt of the entire feasibility of the sudden emancipation it announces. The message, by a distinct recognition of the plenary power of every State to protect itself from a free negro population by the exclusion of free negroes from its limits, virtually confesses that sudden emancipation is a practical nullity, for it is manifestly impossible to

transport and colonize four millions of people on the instant. The message contrasts with the proclamation as sense with folly."

THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO THE BATTLE
FIELDS.

Frederick, Md., 4th. President Lincoln, Gen. McClellan and others left Gen. McClellan's headquarters at 10 o'clock today, and visited the battle field of South Mountain. Gen. McClellan and staff then took leave of the President, who arrived here at 5 P. M. He was enthusiastically received and spoke a few words to the assembled multitude. He made a call upon the wounded Gen. Hartuff, who is receiving attention at the residence of Mrs. Ramsey and son, and soon afterwards left for Washington amid the cheering of the throng of citizens and soldiers, to whom he returned thanks briefly, saying:

"Fellow-Citizens; I see myself surrounded by soldiers, and a little further off I note the citizens of this good city of Frederick, anxious to hear something from me. I can only say, as I did five minutes ago, it is not proper for me to make speeches in my present position. I return thanks to our soldiers for the good service they have rendered, for the energy they have shown, the hardships they have endured and the blood they have shed for this dear Union of ours; and I also return thanks, not only to the soldiers but to the good citizens of Maryland and to all the good men and women in this land for their devotion to our glorious cause. I say this without any malice in my heart to those who may have done otherwise. May our children and our children's children to a thousand generations continue to enjoy the benefits conferred upon us by a united country, and have cause yet to rejoice under those glorious institutions bequeathed us by Washington and his compaors. Now, my friends, soldiers and citizens, I can only say once more 'farewell.' "



